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ROMAN PERSONAL NAMES¹

Romans usually had three names—the nomen or tribe name, the cognomen or family name, and the praenomen or personal name. There is a history for each of these, both individually and in combination with the others. We shall not, however, attempt to give that history in full, but shall merely present an outline of four chapters: I. The Names used by Writers; II. The Origin of the Names; III. The Changes in Names; and IV. The Names of Women.

I. The Names Used by Writers

When we examine the Classical Dictionary, we find that, of nine men who are mentioned of the Lentulus family, eight have four names; so also eight of ten of the Metellus family. Of twenty-two Scipios, four have three names, fourteen four, three five, and one six, if we count Minor as a separate name in Publius Cornelius Aemilianus Africanus Minor. But three was the normal number, at least for one period, and only when, by reason of his strength, physical or mental, a man had done something worthy of note, was it proper for him to add another, as an indication of what he had done. Examples are Africanus, Asiaticus, Macedonicus, Numidicus, indicating the country which had been conquered. However, not all the additional names were developed in this way. Scipio Nasica got his additional name from his nose, Metellus Sura from his leg, and Lentulus Spinther from his bracelet.

The answer to the question, Which names did writers use?, is not the same for all generations, not the same for Ammianus Marcellinus as for Tacitus, not entirely the same for Tacitus as for Caesar, and not the same for the different works of Caesar.

In the Gallic War are mentioned two men whose names are frequently associated, Lucius Aurunculeius Cotta and Quintus Titurius Sabinus. The former of these is referred to by Caesar in five different ways: Lucius Aurunculeius Cotta, Lucius Cotta, Lucius Aurunculeius, Cotta, and Aurunculeius. In the case of the other, one form, Quintus Sabinus, is lacking. In other words, we find these variations used: the praenomen with the nomen and the cognomen, as well as with both separately, and also both these without

the praenomen. The names of other men are not given with the same fullness. We find M. Caelius Rufus, M. Rufus, and Caelius, but only T. Labienus and Labienus, G. Trebonius and Trebonius. The combination nomen and cognomen is the only one that is lacking, but this is found in the Civil War. There is thus a distinct difference of usage in the two works.

The usage of Tacitus is sharply contrasted with that of Caesar in the Gallic War. He uses three names only in Ann. 12.41.1 Ti. Claudio quintum Servio Cornelio Orfito consulibus; and possibly in Ann. 2.1.1 Sisenna Statilio [Tauro] T. Libone consulibus. According to W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte Lateinischer Eigennamen*, 491 (Berlin, 1904), in the case of about 700 men for whose designation Tacitus uses two names, the nomen and the cognomen are found in more than two-thirds of the number. Yet this does not indicate that it took all the time between Caesar and Tacitus to develop this usage, for it was well known to Horace (Schulze, 494). He has Crispe Sallusti in Odes 2.2.3, and a dozen other examples in the Sermones and the Epistulae. After Horace there was considerable irregularity in method, as can be seen from a few references in Velleius Paterculus to the consuls:

1.10.6 Fulvii Flacci et Postumii Albini; 1.14.6 Q. Fabio Decio Mure; 1.14.8 Torquato Sempronioque; 1.15.2 Cn. autem Manlio Volsone et Fulvio Nobiliore.

The best illustrative passage is that taken by Schulze, 493, from Pliny, Epp. 5.3.5-6:

An ego verear (neminem viventium, ne quam in speciem adulationis incidam, nominabo), sed ego verear ne me satis deceat quod decuit M. Tullium, C. Calvum, Asinium Pollionem, M. Messallam, Q. Hortensium, M. Brutum, L. Sullam, Q. Catulum, Q. Scaevolam, Servium Sulpicium, Varronem, Torquatum, immo Torquatos, C. Memmium, Lentulum Gactulicum, Annaeum Senecam, Lucanum et proxime Verginium Rufum. . . . Inter quos vel praecipue numerandus est P. Vergilius, Cornelius Nepos, et prius Ennius Acciusque.

Here there are three types of statement; yet they are not used haphazard. The names for the old writers had long been established, as is shown by Horace, Epp. 2.1.55 ff., Sermon. 1.5.40, 1.10.81 ff. When Pliny wrote Ennius Acciusque, he was merely true to the type that had been developed, as also with the other two sets. As far back as the time of Valerius Maximus and Velleius Paterculus, the designation Asinius Pollio, or the reverse, had been established. Seneca, Quin-

¹The reader will find it worth while to compare a paper, by Dr. Guy Blandin Colburn, entitled What's in a Name?, in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 6.66-69. The papers deal with similar materials, but from quite different points of view. c. k.

tilian, as well as Tacitus have the same form; see the *Dialogus De Oratoribus* 38.15 *exceptis orationibus Asinii, quae . . . ab ipso tamen Pollione . . . habitae. . . . Tacitus also has Lentulus Gaetulicus, Annaeus Seneca, and Verginius Rufus, and these may be taken as the recognized forms for the generation of Pliny. The use of the praenomen with the names of the men of old seems to have about it an air of dignity; for this reason it is sometimes retained even when it is not needed to distinguish definitely the individual from others having the same nomen. At least the rule seems to be, the nomen for writers, the nomen with the praenomen for men of old, and the nomen with the cognomen for men of Pliny's generation. This holds true also for Tacitus, *Dialogus De Oratoribus*. The four speakers are Curiatius Maternus, Iulius Secundus, Vipstanus Messalla, and M. Aper, who, being a Gaul, had no tribe name. The names of ten others with whom these four were in touch are given, sometimes in reverse order, as Secundus Pomponius, 13.10; Marcellus Eprius, 8.1; Crispus Vibius, 8.2. We also find the praenomen in a few other passages.*

The retention of the praenomen for politeness's sake, or to retain the color of antiquity, is well shown by Fronto and by Gellius. The former (in Naber's edition, pages 113-114) gives one name to each of eleven Greeks and fifteen Romans, and has also Tullius . . . Cicero; but, for him, Cicero is usually M. Cicero or M. Tullius. The latter is the only designation he uses for Cicero in characterizations (pages 63, 125, 221):

M. Tullium, qui caput atque fons Romanae facundiae cluet M. Tullius summum supraemumque os Romanae linguae fuit. . . . Nunc, ut orationem istam M. Tulli . . . paucis commendem: mihi profecto ita videtur, neminem umquam neque Romana neque Graecorum lingua facundius in concione populi laudatum, quam Cn. Pompeius . . . laudatus est.

Gellius, in 2.26.1, has M. Fronto; in 1.24.1, Cn. Naevii, Plauti, M. Pacuvii; in 13.2.1, M. Pacuvio et L. Accio.

Good illustrations of the force of the praenomen, as dignifying the persons so named, can also be seen in Apuleius, *De Magia* 66.538:

Neque autem gloriae caussa me accusat, ut M. Antonius Cn. Carbonem, C. Mucius A. Albutium, P. Sulpicius Cn. Norbanum, C. Furius M. Aquilium, C. Curio Q. Metellum.

Contrast with this *De Magia* 95.589, where the greater emphasis is placed on the work of his friend:

Quamcumque orationem struxerit Avitus, ita illa erit undique sui perfecte absoluta, ut in illa neque Cato gravitatem requirat, neque Laelius lenitatem neque Gracchus impetum nec Caesar calorem nec Hortensius distributionem nec Calvus argutias nec parsimoniam Sallustius nec opulentiam Cicero, prorsus inquam, ne omnia persequar, si Avitum audias, neque additum quicquam velis neque detractum neque autem aliquid commutatum.

About 390 A.D., Ammianus Marcellinus wrote his *History*, covering the period from Nerva to the death of Valens. It is the last word on Roman history, and

gives the final form of the development of Roman names, at least for members of the military class. In this work there are few indications of the existence of a praenomen. More than 90 per cent. of the men have but one name. Most of those who have two are Romans of the good old days, men whose names had been consecrated in history—Appius Claudius, Camillus Furius, Domitius Corbulo. In the case of some of these the arrangement is a matter of interest, as in 14.6.8 Censorius Cato; 28.4.21 Cato Porcius; 28.3.9 Cursor Papirius (but in reverse order in 30.8.5).

Once upon a time all roads led to Rome, and, though this had ceased to be literally true, along all roads of the Empire men poured into the Roman army. Even without other evidence, we can tell the character of the army from the names given by Ammianus. Long before the fourth century A. D., Juvenal (3.62-65) had bewailed the fact that the Syrian Orontes had poured into the Tiber its language and its customs. The stream of foreign influence had never ceased, and the general color of the names can be seen from those of some of the tribunes: 18.6.12 Abdigidus; 18.8.10 Aiadelthes; 15.4.10 Arintheus; 14.11.14 Bainobaudes; 27.2.6 Balchobaudes; 26.9.8 Barchalba; 30.1.11 Barzimeres; and, to close the list, in 27.8.2, Provertuides. These indicate something of the extent to which the brain and the brawn of barbarians had won a recognized place in the army, and show that the scepter *de facto* if not *in nomine* had passed from the Romans.

There is little need of a second name for others, except occasionally to indicate the country from which the person came, as in 15.5.33 Boniti . . . Franci; 22.1.2 Aprunculis Gallus; 23.1.2 Alypius Antiochensis; 23.2.3 Heliopoliten quendam Alexandrum; 31.12.16 Bacurius Hiberus quidam. The fulness of expression is noticeable in 14.7.8 Eusebius ab Emissa Pittacas cognomento; and in 19.12.12 Demetrius itidem Cythras cognomento. Of non-Romans with more than one name there are but few; see, however, 29.2.2 Festinus quidam Tridentinus, and the most noteworthy of all, 27.6.14, Eupraxius Caesariensis Maurus, 'Weldon, the Moor from Caesarea'. Names beginning with *Eu-* are common—the sign of their Greek origin. There are some which we should not expect to find: 30.1.11 Danielius; 19.9.2 Iacobus; 28.1.44 Esaias.

The closing words of this section may well be those of Ammianus. He states (16.10.5-6) the impression made on a Roman Emperor when he visited Rome in 356 A.D.:

Asylum mundi totius adesce existamabat. Unde cum se vertisset ad plebem, stupebat, qua celeritate omne quod ubique est hominum genus conflueret Romam.

Later, in 28.4.7, he describes the nobility:

Praenominum claritudine conspicui quidam, ut putant, in immensum semet extollunt, cum Reburri et Flabunii et Pagonii Gereonesque appellentur ac Dalii cum Tarracii et Perrasiis, aliisque ita decens sonantibus originum insignibus multis.

The names of the plebeians given in 28.4.28 seem equally strange:

Nunc ad otiosam plebem veniamus et desidem. In qua nitent ut nominibus cultis et quidam calceorum expertes, Cimessores Statarii Semicupae et Serapini et Cicimbricus cum Glutirino et Trulla, et Lucanicus cum Pordaca et Salsula similesque innumeri.

II. The Origin of the Names

(1) The central point in the name system is the nomen. This designated the members of a group who claimed that they could trace their origin to a common ancestor.

At Rome the Claudii are descended from a Clausus; the Caecilii honored as chief the hero Caeculus; the Calpurnii, a Calpus; the Julii, a Julius; the Cloelii, a Cloelus.

So wrote Coulanges, *The Ancient City*, English translation, 139. The gens was a basic fact in Roman history, and swayed the imaginations of men long after its disintegration. Note the following from the account by Tacitus (Ann. 4.9) of the funeral of Drusus:

Funus imaginum pompa maxime inlustre fuit, cum origo Iuliae gentis Aeneas omnesque Albanorum reges et conditor urbis Romulus, post Sabina nobilitas, Attus Clausus ceteraque Claudiorum effigies longo ordine spectarentur.

But whence came the name of the founder of the gens? Some central fact there must have been to account for each such name. We know some members of the gens Iulius, but Vergil was compelled to invent an intermediary, Iulus, to connect Iulius with Ilus—the man from Ilium. There is an *Epitome*² by Julius Paris of the work of an unknown author, which says (§3), *Gentilicia nomina Varro putat fuisse numero mille, praenomina circa xxx.* But the tract throws no light on the origin of the names of the gentes; this part of the subject we must leave to the etymologist.

(2) The *Epitome* by Julius Paris, mentioned above, gives a derivation for a number of the praenomina, some of which we shall here consider, using Kempf's text:

(a) Titus e Sabino nomine †Tito fluxit . . . ; (b) Lucii coeperunt adpellari, qui ipso initio lucis orti erant, aut, ut quidam arbitrantur, a Lucumonibus Etruscis . . . ; (c) Publi, qui prius pupilli facti erant quam praenomina haberent, †alii ominis causa e pube . . . ; (d) Gai iudicantur dicti a gaudio parentum.

(a) Aug. Zimmermann (*Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie und Grammatik* 11.268), on the basis of Sanskrit *tata*, 'father', suggests that *tata* designates the father and Titus the son, so that Titus Tatius means 'Papas Sohn' ('eigentl. der dem Papa gehörige Sohn'). If we take this as true, the praenomen Titus must be placed among the very earliest of those developed to indicate personal relations. The Latin *filius* also indicated the same personal relation, but the Sabine equivalent was taken as a title.

²This *Epitome* is printed on pages 587–591 of the Teubner text, of Valerius Maximus, by C. Kempf (Leipzig, 1888).

(b) According to Roman tradition there came in early times to Rome a man from the Etruscan town of Tarquinii, and gave forth his name as Lucius Tarquinius Priscus, 'Lucius the First, the man from Tarquinii'. His name at home had been Lucumo, the Etruscan for *dux* or *rex*. If the tradition records a fact, then Lucumo = Luc-ius = duc-ius, there having been an interchange of *d* and *l*, as in *dacrima*, *lacrima* and *dingua*, *lingua* (compare Varro, R. R. 3.9.19 antiqui . . . Medicam Melicam vocabant). We may imagine that Lucius was first used to designate the actual leader of the family forces, when, for any reason, there was need, in the field, of an active substitute for the pater. It may be purely accidental, but the first two Roman consuls were Lucius Iunius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Conlatinus.

(c) Livy (2.8.1) tells of a P. Valerius who, by one act, won the favor of the people, and in return received the cognomen Publicola, 'Folkpetter', which, in inscriptions, is written Poplicola, a contraction of Populicola. This is sufficient to show, if any proof is needed, that Publius, like *publicus*, is an adjective from *populus*. The name must have been given to indicate some connection between the person and the mass of the people in the group to which he belonged. We find in Gaius 1.189 sed impuberes quidem in tutela esse, omnium civitatum iure contingit. The object of this is thus stated by J. B. Moyle, *Justinian's Institutes*, 1.13 (Oxford University Press, 1883):

It seems clear that in the earlier period the purpose of tutela was far less the protection of the ward than that of the ward's family: it was regarded as a right to look after his property, and to prevent any alienation by which it would leave the family in case of his decease before the tutela determined.

We can conceive that, before the idea of personal guardianship arose, the tutela was vested in the gens, which exercised its rights when a young filius became practically detached by the death of the older males in his branch of the gens. The term Publius, 'Folkchild', was then used to indicate his relation to the entire gens. If this is correct, we see that at first the *populus* exercised its prerogative as guardian, but later allowed the ward to come under the control of some individual.

(d) The derivation of *Gaius* from *gavisus*, *gaudium*, is attractive, but the objectification of personal feeling into an appellation seems too abstruse an act for early generations. From the Latin root *gen-* we have *gigno*, as also *genus*, *gener*, etc., and Greek has γενᾶς. Compare the Sanskrit *gan-*, seen in *ganami*, 'beget', and *gatis*, 'birth'. Ga-ius, then, is the male offspring, and Ga-ia is the female. The idea in these names is akin to that expressed by Titus (see a above), and the derivation furnishes a ready explanation for the words of Quintilian (1.7.28), tam *Gaius* esse vocitatus quam *Gaios* etiam ex nuptialibus sacris apparet.

(3) It is in discussing the cognomina which were applied to the divisions of the Roman gentes, that we find something tangible, though not every one can be

explained. The date of the appearance³ of several families can be given with considerable certainty, but we are now concerned with the whence, rather than with the when. Horace (Serm. 1.3.43-53) has a statement in regard to the kindness of a father in using gentle terms to describe the defects of his sons. Here we find Strabo, 'Squint-Eye', Paetus, 'Blink-Eye', Varus, 'Knock-Knee', and Scaurus, 'Swell-Foot'. These are merely indications of the use, as personal designations, of terms expressing physical defects. It is likely that not only defects, but also other noticeable personal features, were early taken as personal names: Rufus, 'Red-Head', Calvus, 'Bald-Head', Nasica, 'Nose', Crus, 'Shank'. We also find in Varro, R. R. 3.12.1 Quintus Fulvius Lippinus, 'Bleary-Eye'. Judging by the names, we may say that the traits of Lucius Calpurnius Piso Frugi must have been as noticeable as those of Marcus Porcius Cato Censorius. What was the reason for the family name of P. Decius Mus, 'Mouse', and of C. Afranius Stellio, 'Newt'? In Varro (R. R. 2.4.2) Tremellius explains why his family was called Scrofa, 'Sow'. His grandfather, when the enemy made an attack on the Roman camp, in Macedonia, dixit celeriter se illos, ut scrofa porcos, disiecturum, id quod fecit (compare Macrobius 1.6.30). In the same work we find, in 2.1.10:

Nomina multa habemus ab utroque pecore, a maiore et a minore. A minore Porcius, Ovinus, Caprius; sic a maiore Equitius, Taurius, Asinius. Idem cognomina adsignificare dicuntur, ut Anni Caprae, Statili Tauri, Pomponi Vituli: sic a pecudibus alii multi.

It is said, in 3.2.2, of the group gathered to discuss birds:

Sedebat ad sinistram ei Cornelius Merula <'Blackbird'>, consulari familia ortus, et Fircellius Pavo <'Peacock'> Reatinus, ad dextram Minucius Pica <'Magpie'> et M. Petronius Passer <'Sparrow'>. Ad quem cum accessissemus, Axius Appio subridens, "Recipis nos", inquit, "in tuum ornithona, ubi sedes inter aves?"

Columella, a native of Spain, whose full name was Lucius Iulius Moderatus Columella, has, in 8.16.5,

Velut ante devictarum gentium Numantinus et Isauricus, ita Sergius Orata et Licinius Murena captorum piscium laetabantur vocabulis.

The same origin for the names is incidentally given in Varro, R. R. 3.3.10. Equally interesting is what Seneca Rhetor says (Suasoriae 2.17) of the Grandioso of his generation:

Seneca fuit . . . qui cupiebat grandia dicere. . . . Omnia grandia si quando inveniret probanti impositum est cognomen vel, ut Messalla ait, cognomentum, et vocari coepit Seneca Grandio.

The words of Suetonius (De Grammaticis 3) have a double interest:

Aelius cognomine duplici fuit, nam et Praeconinus, quod pater eius praconium fecerat, vocabatur, et Stilo, quod orationes nobilissimo cuique scribere solebat.

There is a story in Gellius 1.23, repeated in Macrobius 1.6.19 ff., about the young Papirius, who lepidi atque festivi mendacii consilium capit. As a result, Puero postea cognomentum honoris gratia decreto inditum Praetextatus ob tacendi loquendique in praetexta aetate prudentiam.

Macrobius continues (26):

Non aliter dicti Scipiones nisi quod Cornelius qui cognominem patrem luminibus carentem pro baculo regebat Scipio cognominatus nomen ex cognomine posteris dedit. Sic Messalla tuus, Aviene, dictus a cognomento Valerii Maximi qui, postquam Messanam urbem Siciliae nobilissimam cepit, Messalla cognominatus est. Nec mirum si ex cognominibus nata sunt nomina cum contra et cognomina ex propriis sint tracta nominibus, ut ab Aemilio Aemilianus, a Servilio Servilianus.

Asina is then mentioned, and a story is told of Scropha, different from that given in Varro (see above).

Last of all, we call attention to the words of Augustine, De Civitate Dei 5.3:

Nobile illud commentum de figuli rota, quod respondisse ferunt Nigidium . . . unde et Figulus appellatus est.

The additional names are chiefly agnomina, won by men who already had their full triple equipment. Different is the case of Cn. Marcius who captured Corioli and became Coriolanus (Livy 2.33); and that of M. Manlius who became Capitolinus. Whatever be the fact in regard to some of the cognomina, let us not refuse to the Romans the credit of having some excellent stories in regard to their origin. Note the story Livy (2.12) tells of the origin of the title Scaevola, 'Lefthanded', of Torquatus, 'Neck-chain' (7.10), and that (7.26) of a corvus, which, leaping se alis os oculosque hostis rostro et unguibus adpetit, and so helped M. Valerius defeat a Gaul and gain the title Corvinus, 'Crow'. Of L. Papirius Cursor it is said (9.16.13), praecipua pedum pernecitas inerat, quae cognomen etiam dedit.

Later generations furnish us with equally interesting accounts. Kindliest of them all is that of Caligula, 'Little Boots', whom his mother fixed up in this way for the delight of the soldiers (Tacitus, Ann. 1.41.10). Far different in tone is the brief story of Cedo Alteram, 'Give Another' (Ann. 1.23.11):

Centurio Lucilius interficitur, cui militaribus facetiis vocabulum 'Cedo Alteram' indiderant, quia fracta vite in tergo militis alteram clara voce ac rursus aliam poscebat.

Ammianus Marcellinus has two explanations that are worth repeating. He tells, in 30.7.2, of Gratianus, the Milo of his generation, from whose hand, either right or left, no force could wrest an apple, and who from early years had borne the name Funarius, 'Roper', because, when he was a boy, five men failed to take from him a rope which he had bought. Equally interesting is what is said (24.4.23) of Exsuperius, 'Outofabovius', the first man who burst from the tunnel which had been dug under the city Maozamalcha.

³See Coulanges, *The Ancient City*, English translation, 142-143.

Taking as illustrations some of the names seen in the works of Tacitus, we find much to indicate a cosmopolitan origin and the bringing in of new elements. The name Glitius Gallus tells of Gaul, just as Ventidius Cumanus and Caetronius Pisanus speak of Italy. Out of the country came the families of Iulius Agricola, Iulius Agrestis, and Aurulenus Rusticus. Antonius Naso, Ostorius Scapula, Subrius Dexter, Subrius Flavus, Cluvius Rufus, Casperius Niger suggest their own origin, as also Carrinas Celer, Donatius Valens, Orfidius Benignus, and Antonius Felix, the 'Happy' of his tribe. But whence came such names as Antonius Flamma, Arruntius Stella, Octavius Sagitta, and Iulius Aquila? Here and there we find also some one-named men, as Percennius (Ann. 1.16.10), and Vibulenus (Ann. 1.22.1), each a *quidam gregarius miles*, whose names are precursors of the usual form in Ammianus Marcellinus.

Schulze, in his *Indices*, has listed some 12,000 names, and in the 594 pages of his text, with from one to fifteen notes to the page, has gathered the testimony furnished by the Latin inscriptions. Here it is clearly shown that Roman names were extended by adjective formations and by geographical appellations. Given a Constans, it was easy to get Constantius, Constantinus, and Constantinianus; from Longus came Longinus, Longinius, and Longurius. Out of the Sabine land once came a man named Attus Clausus, who, at Rome, became Appius Claudius, the founder of a great family. Had he been a man of less strength, he would have been known merely as Sabinus. Such, we may imagine, was the result with unnumbered provincials who came to Rome. Had we the names of all the people who lived at Rome in any year of the reign of Augustus, we could draw the outlines of a picture indicating the extent to which the outside world had contributed to the upbuilding of the Eternal City. And wherever there had been movements of men in any part of the Empire, there must have been found names indicating the places from which the persons had come.

III. The Change in Names

The types of names seen in Caesar, Tacitus and Ammianus indicate the passing of society from a personal-gentile-family basis to one that is purely personal. The name Gaius Iulius Caesar tells of a person, a family, and a tribe; the name Provertuides, of a person alone. Long before the time of Caesar, the gens had been overwhelmed by the tides of men from without, and by disasters from within. The admission of the plebeians did not affect the system of names, for theirs were the same. Their first consul, C. Licinius Stolo ('Sucker'), had won for himself a name because he had kept the suckers so well trimmed from his vines. His helper was L. Sextius, and the two names, L. Sextius and C. Licinius, appear side by side, as if they were both patricians. The old system of names might have survived intact had no more elements been

involved. But there were others. Livy (4.61) tells of a slave who betrayed Ardena to the Romans, and, as a reward, *praeter libertatem duarum familiarum bona in praemium data*; Servius Romanus vocitatus. Varro (L. L. 8.83) states that many slaves manumitted by various municipalities derived their names from these municipalities. As the result of the shifting of their status, with the freedmen taking the name of the manumitter, whether a man or a municipality, there was a constant tendency toward the disintegration of the old system. To Cicero, his freedman was Tiro only; in Gollius (e. g. 4.10.6; 6.3.8.39; 12.3.3) he is Tiro Tullius. When Trimalchio wrote his epitaph, it was suggestive of a Roman gentleman of old, for it read Gaius Pompeius Trimalchio Maecenatianus hic requiescit (see Petronius 71).

The scores of occurrences of the word *liberius* in the works of Tacitus prove the importance of the freedmen in the early Empire, even though efforts were made to show their subordination. One such is described by Tacitus, Ann. 13.26.1:

Actum in senatu de fraudibus libertorum, efflagitatumque ut adversus male meritos revocandae libertatis ius patronis daretur.

But compare with this *Historiae* 1.13.2:

Nec minor gratia Icelo Galbae liberto, quem anulis donatum equestri nomine Marcianum vocitabant.

At the same time there were some of the gentile names which were not a source of gratification to the bearers. As Seneca Rhetor says (*Controversiae* 2.4.12 ff.),

Erat M. Agrippa inter eos qui non nati sunt nobiles sed facti. . . . Tanta autem sub divo Augusto libertas fuit, ut praepotenti tunc M. Agrippae non defuerint qui ignobilitatem exprobrarent. Vipsanius Agrippa fuerat, at Vipsani nomen quasi argumentum paternae humilitatis sustulerat, et M. Agrippa dicebatur. Cum defenderet reum, fuit accusator qui diceret, "Agrippa, M. et quod in medio est"—volebat Vipsanum intelligi—"concurrite: Agrippa, malum habebis; responde <si> dis <placet>, Marce".

This indicates that Agrippa was dissatisfied with his gentile name, but sought to retain the color of primeval dignity by using the praenomen. How many there were of his, or of other generations, who felt the same way, we can not tell. However, the execution of many a patron by various Emperors must have left, as independent factors in the State, a host of freedmen who swelled the list of those who were known by nomen and cognomen.

Great importance must have attached to the praenomen in early times, for, according to Livy 6.20.14, *gentis Manliae decreto cautum est, ne quis deinde M. Manlius vocaretur* (compare Quintilian 3.7.20). However, by the time of Horace its use was a sign of familiarity, for we find in *Serm.* 2.5.32-33,

Quinte, puta, aut Publi (gaudent praenomine molles auriculae), tibi me virtus tua fecit amicum.

But it is in the *Epistles* of Cicero that we find the best illustrations of its familiar use. Pompey is Gnaeus,

as in Ad Att. 8.4.3, 9.10.4; or Gnaeus noster, as in 9.1.2, 9.10.4. However, the other names are used more frequently, as in Ad Att. 1.20.1 Cincius noster; 9.11A.2 de Pompeio nostro; Ad Fam. 10.6.1 Furnius noster. *Mi Tiro* occurs freely in the epistles of Cicero to Tiro, and *Mi Cicero* is the usual form of addressing Cicero. Compare with this the use of *Mi Secunde* in the epistles of Trajan to Pliny the Younger.

The praenomen was Italian in origin, and only by transplanting or through imitation did it find a place among the non-Italic races. Its passing is well illustrated by the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*. The long list, in 7.7, of those who were killed by Commodus contains no praenomen, and that in 10.13, of 41 men killed by Severus, has only one, L. Stilonem, perhaps as a compliment to L. Aelius Stilo Praeconinus (Suetonius, *De Grammaticis* 3; Gellius 12.4.5). Though the non-Roman element was becoming more and more important, what is said of a few of the Emperors sets forth conditions for private individuals existing long before: compare

28.3.1 Probus oriundus e Pannonia, civitate Sirmiensi, nobiliore matre quam patre; 29.3.1 Firmo patria Seleucia fuit; 29.7.1 Saturninus oriundus fuit Gallus; 29.12.1 Proculo patria Albingauni fuere, positi in Alpibus maritimis . . . huic uxor virago . . . nomine Samso; 29.14.1 Bonosus domo Hispaniensi fuit, origine Britannus, Galla tamen matre, ut ipse dicebat, rhetoris filius, ut ab aliis comperi, paedagogi litterarii.

The cognomen, as more definite than the nomen, was generally used in the time of Cicero for men of action, as Caesar, Cicero, Catilina, Cato. But there was no fixed principle guiding the selection either then or later, as is shown by the winning names of the twelve Caesars: the title Augustus, the pet name Caligula, the praenomina Tiberius and Titus, the nomina Claudius and Vitellius, the cognomina Nero, Galba, Otho, Vespasianus and Domitianus.

The nomen is generally used to designate a great writer of early times, the cognomen for one of a later generation. Yet there are variations, as in Martial 1.61 Maro, Flaccus, Naso (compare 12.3.1), and in 14.185, 186, 192, Maro and Naso. The best illustration of a divided usage is M. Cicero or M. Tullius. Augustine (*De Civitate Dei* 22.6) has eloquentissimus omnium Marcus Tullius Cicero. In contrast with this fulness of expression Arnobius (3.6) has Tullius Romani disertissimus generis; and Tertullian (*Apol.* 11) has quis ex illis deis vestris . . . eloquentior Tullio. As we have already shown, Tullius is the more honorable term in Fronto; but in Gellius it is either M. Cicero or M. Tullius, and both are used in the same connections (13.22.6; 10.24.1; 17.2.5; 13.25.22; 15.3.7); and a statement may begin with one and end with the other (10.3.7, 8; 13, 25.4, 7; 13.25.22, 27).

IV. Names of Women

The Epitome by Julius Paris (7) has the following:

Antiquarum mulierum frequenti in usu praenomina fuerunt Rutilla, Caesellia, Rodacilla, Murrula, Burra, a colore dicta. Illa praenomina a virilibus tracta sunt, Gaia, Lucia, Publia, Numeria.

But the women who stand out in early Roman history have only the nomen—Lucretia, Verginia, Veturia, Volumnia, Cornelia, Clodia. Cicero uses Terentia and Tullia, or mea Tulliola. Judging by Suetonius, we may say that this type was maintained till the time of Caesar, for in his life of Caesar (50) he mentions, in connection with Caesar, Postumia, Lollia, Tertulla, Mucia, Servilia. A similar list, in Aug. 62, has Livia Drusilla also. Compare with these Claudius 26, Aemilia Lepida, Livia Medullina, Plautia Urgulanilla, Aelia Paetina, Valeria Messalina; Nero 35, Poppaea Sabina, Statilia Messalina; and Galba 3, Mummia Achaica, Livia Ocellina. These passages indicate that there had taken place a change in the names of women similar to that in the names of men. Though but few women are mentioned by Ammianus, they, like the men, have only one name. As illustrations we give only the following: 28.1.8 Maxima; 28 Claritas et Flaviana; 44 Rufina; 47 Hesychia; 49 Fausiana and Anepsia⁴.

Most Roman names are, for us, merely names and nothing more. They have even less significance than Secundus, Tertia, Quintus, and Septima had for the early Romans. The suggestiveness of the names must have varied with different generations. The name Brutus suggests stupidity, aristocratic leadership and Republican zealotry. To translate in accord with the early content would be like showing to what vile uses the Great Alexander might be put. 'And you, Duncie' is far, far from 'Et tu, Brute'; nor would it do to translate Arria's vocem immortalem ac paene divinam, "Paete, non dolet" (Pliny, *Epp.* 3.16.6) by 'Blinky, it doesn't hurt', even though the words might have suited some trivial event, in some far-off century. The personal coloring of other names also faded and another took its place in later centuries. If an artist could paint a picture showing the general change, it would have a gentilis color at the beginning and a paganus color at the close.

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY,
Nashville, Tennessee.

R. B. STEELE.

REVIEW

First Latin By Charles Upson Clark and Josiah Bethea Game. Chicago: Atkinson, Mentzer and Company (1917). Pp. VIII + 353. \$1.12.

A new book for beginners must challenge attention chiefly by something new in the method of attack, or by something new in the marshalling of old facts. First Latin, by Messrs. Clark and Game, has several new features. It "is not designed primarily to prepare for

⁴The names created for lyric and epic poetry are another branch of the general subject. In these the rhythmical element is all important, whether they are found in lyric or in hexameter measures, but that element is not personal. This theme is outside of my subject, yet I may refer to my article Names in the Metrical Technique of the Aeneid, in *The Latin Leaflet*, Nos. 145-146 (March 26, April 2, 1906).